

Lord T A A F F E ' S
OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE
AFFAIRS of *IRELAND*

Examined and confuted.

By an IMPARTIAL HAND,
Who wishes well to the PERSONS,
Though not to the RELIGION,
Of the ROMAN CATHOLICS of IRELAND.



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OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

AFFAIRS of *IRELAND*

Examined and confuted, &c.

THIS venerable old Nobleman is confident that the Popish religion may be made, not only innocent, but even most useful, to a Protestant government; but I am not persuaded of this; I am persuaded of quite the contrary, and can, as I think, give undoubted reason for it.

I doubt not of his Lordship's sincerity in what he advances; but men may be deceived; and we Protestants have too much here depending to venture upon any but inevitable certainty. It is no part of the religion which he professes, to encourage an enquiry into the doctrines of it: it is, on the contrary, the very foundation of his Church to discourage to the utmost, every thing of this kind; and to make the man, without any search or judgment of his own, take up implicitly with whatsoever his clergy shall declare. His Lordship therefore may be, and it shall hereafter be abundantly proved, that in this he really is ignorant of his own religion: and it would therefore

fore be an excess of folly in us to act upon so crude, in fact, so unjust a representation.

Every one acquainted with the affairs of Ireland must know, that the greatest part of the estates in it would be lost to the Protestant possessors, if Popery should prevail; and every one acquainted with the nature of Popery, must be sensible, that both our liberties and lives would be greatly endangered, but that our religion must be utterly destroyed by it. A loss so horrible this latter, that every thing else is to be despised in comparison of it; and we are under the most forceable obligations that God or conscience can lay upon us, to watch over it, to guard it with the greatest care: and we may depend upon it, that if we will, either by our neglect or perversion, permit it to be torn from us, our God will no more suffer us to go unpunished in this world, than he did his antient people the Jews; but make us as signal an example of his just vengeance as he did of them.

For, instead of a rational and careful examination of our religious principles, to have us given up entirely to an implicit faith in what the teachers, that is the interested clergy of this Church pronounce; and thereby, from the most enlightened condition in the world, to fall into the most gross ignorance of that, which is out of all comparison the most excellent and honourable qualification in man! Instead of building our faith upon the sure word of God; to have nothing but the word of deceivable man for it! Instead of forming our religion upon the pure and exalted representation
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which the Scripture gives us of the Divine Being, and his service; to take the whole of it from their breviaries, catechisms, manuals of devotions, history of their saints, and their statues and pictures! Instead of having all our prayers in a language understood by the people, and thereby fitted to work upon their understandings and affections, and make them fit for the blessings they implore; to have all our public, and a great many of our private prayers too, in Latin, which they understand not; and thereby, contrary to their true nature, to have them rendered a piece of nonsense and conjuration.

Instead of elevating our souls by this worship to the infinitely gracious and all-sufficient Parent of all being; to debase ourselves to the religious veneration of creatures, and such creatures too as many of the Popish saints are! Instead of depending upon the merits and mediation of the Son of God, our Redeemer, as sufficient to procure to the truly penitent and reformed sinner, the divine pardon and acceptance; to make these of the Saints not only profitable, but necessary! Instead of believing that the intention of religion is to qualify us for our future happiness, by rectifying and making pure our nature; to place the greater part of it in outward and worthless performances, such as the hearing, or rather seeing, or being present at the sacrifice of the Mass, priestly absolutions, indulgences, Latin and unintelligible sacraments, fastings from flesh meats, pilgrimages, whippings, the worshipping such a saint, and in such a place, and before such an image, holy trinkets,
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the entering into such and such a religious fraternity; whereby we shall be entitled to all the merits of the brotherhood, both before and after us, the being of, or the loving such a religious order, or the dying in the habit of it!*

Instead of making the benefit of the Sacraments in any measure to depend upon the worthiness of the Receiver; to assert that the mere outward doing of the work will be sufficient! Instead of believing the benefit of Christ's ordinances to be communicated to those who worthily partake of them; to fix all upon the intention of the Priest; so that a man receives no sacrament, if the priest forgets, or is wicked enough not to intend it: and is therefore neither baptised nor absolved, unless the priest pleases, but is damned by his fault! Instead of affirming that all men are sinners, who stand in need of forgiveness for their own faults, and can only be saved by obtaining it; to assert that there are many who do more than their duty,
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* Pope Gregory IX. saith, That St Francis obtained this privilege of God, that whosoever had his habit on, could not die ill. And St Francis himself saith, that whoever loveth his order in his heart, how great a sinner soever he was, should obtain mercy of God. *Sacrar. St. Franc. p. 6.* And of King James the II. it is told, in a letter from a Jesuit at Leige, to another at Friburgh that it could hardly be expressed, with what gratitude this King received the news of his being made partaker of all the merits of the Society (the blessed Society) of the Jesuits. These grand converters of all Infidels and Heretics to the only true Catholic and saving Religion, which however, it seems, they understand so little of, that they have been drove out of Spain, Portugal, and France, as not to be endured even in Popish countries, for their impious doctrines and practices.

and do more than pay God for the happiness of Heaven; and thereby leave a bank of merits behind them, for the use of the Church, and to be disposed of by the Pope and Clergy to such others as want, and will buy them. Instead of believing, that when Christ atones for, and God forgives the grievous and mortal guilt of Sin, he will also pass over the venial and slighter; to affirm that he will not, but will have full satisfaction made to his Justice for it; either by Penance in this world, or by Purgatory in the next: that he will for these torment the soul of this man who dies in his favour and a state of salvation; and with this shameful partiality too, that he will at once deliver from the tortures of this infernal prison, and convey to his own unspeakable happiness in Heaven, the soul of the more wicked rich man, only because he hath money enough, and possibly ill gotten, to buy an indulgence, or to pay for Masses to the Priest; whilst he leaves the more virtuous poor man to burn in these horrid torments for ages together, it may be, even to the day of judgment, and only because he is moneyless, and moneyless because honest.

Instead of making us receive the spiritual benefits of the Eucharist, by devoutly eating bread broken, and drinking wine poured out, in remembrance of Christ's body being broken, and his blood shed to the death, as an atonement for sin, and an acknowledgment that we are redeemed thereby; to render it necessary for us to devour the very living body, blood, soul, and divinity of that God whom we adore; which, besides the needles-

needlesness and horrid barbarity of the thing, destroys all the proofs of Christianity, and loads it with the greatest absurdities and impossibilities!

Instead of believing that every Christian kingdom is free, and in its own power; to subject them all to a foreign jurisdiction, which hath proved an insupportable yoke to every nation that would bear it, and was most especially so to these countries for five hundred years together! And instead of taking the whole Christian world for our brethren, whose errors destroy not the hope of salvation; to confine it all to the Church of Rome, which makes not a third part of it; to condemn all the rest to eternal misery in the next world, and to hatred, persecution, and extirpation in this!

Instead of this pure and noble faith of us Protestants, to have us all enslaved to such a one as is that of Rome, would be an evil so abominable in the eyes of God, and pernicious to men, that though neither fortune, safety, nor civil liberty were endangered by it, we are bound by every honest means, to restrain and guard against the one, and to secure and promote the other. And let no one think I have been wandering from my subject; no: many of our people are so ignorant of their own religion, all of them growing so careless about it; our infidels do so hate and abuse it for its superior purity and truth; and some, as they call themselves, of our fellow Protestants, do join with them in representing it even as worse than Popery itself; that it was necessary for me,
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in some measure, to open these matters to the reader, that he might know the value of the thing we are contending about.

But it is the opinion of Lord Taafe, and the design of his book, to make us believe, that our Government is not at all endangered by the principles of the Church of Rome; nay, that they are most safe and advantageous to it, and that we have much injured both them and our country by our wrong and unreasonable fears of them: let us then examine this matter.

That the restraints which we have laid upon the Papists must be, in some measure, detrimental to the public, cannot be denied: they must cramp the industry of these people, and hinder the improvement and wealth of our country; but they have not done so in the tragical manner which his Lordship sets forth. The great evil of Pasturage is not so much owing to our laws against Popery, as to the lazy and unskilful way in which our little Farmers managed their lands: they ruined the ground, could not give the same high rents, nor pay them so well as the Graziers; and this threw such a temptation in the way of the Landlords, as few of them were able to resist. But that Ireland hath not suffered so much as this Nobleman believes, in the loss of our people, is manifest from hence, that these are increased to double their number since the revolution; and the houses are now by 29000 more than they were but twelve years ago; though we furnished near 100000 men to the last war. And here it is fit to declare, that this evil is every day certain to decrease: the

Linen Manufactory is spreading into all parts of our country, and as it spreads, produces small farms, and a comfortable maintenance to the people; for by enabling them to pay good rents, it hath drawn many of our landed men to set in this manner, and is growing, to my knowledge, more and more into practice every day.

But how prejudicial soever these restraints, it is right, his Lordship acknowledges it to be so; to lay them on, if we cannot be secure without them. Had he only asserted, that the Papists might with some safety be trusted by our Government, I had not opposed him; but to represent their principles as most safe and profitable to it, this is not to be borne with. His words are, *In Queen Anne's reign it was pressed on the heads and hearts of our Protestant fellow subjects, that no faith was to be reposed in the peaceable conduct, or avowed principles, of the Irish Catholics; that the latent and real principles of these people justified perjury in religion, and destruction of every civil government wherein they had not the lead. Indeed the accusations upon this head have been numberless; volumes of printed books are full of them; and every species of civil iniquity (from which no party of mankind are absolutely exempted) hath been charged upon the Catholic religion, as the womb of all.—All this hath been advanced, and is advanced perseverantly to this day: and would to God it were from simple ignorance, for that is reclaimable, and not from an aversion to knowledge in these instances; particularly where knowledge proves shocking to our prejudices. There is too much bitterness in this passage: I wish his Lordship had shewed*

shewed more of that moderation which he would make us believe, of which he ascribes to his party. It is, I suppose, meant of our Clergy, whom nobody now thinks it any harm to abuse; but it includes the Laity, and our whole Legislature along with them. Page 15, he observes, " Catholics " may undoubtedly become rebellious to Protestant princes, they have at times been rebellious to Catholic princes; but their religion forbids such iniquity, under the severest penalties." So that it seems it is altogether a calumny, and a wilful calumny too, that we charge the Popish religion with any principles dangerous to a Protestant Government; for they are most friendly to it: this then must be examined.

But here, I declare that I am not at all pleased with the work I am undertaking: it is invidious in itself, and hateful to me. It is contrary to my temper and religious principles, to argue for any thing that can border upon severity, against any religion; and nothing but my ardent zeal for that never to be sufficiently valued Christianity, which our Church teaches, and which is likely to be undone by the eager and persevering attacks of its restless enemies, and the indifference or neglect of its indolent friends, could have drawn me into it: and I cannot help venting some of my spleen against my brethren the clergy, whose lazy neglect of this matter, hath at last thrown it into such hands as mine.

It is owned by his Lordship, that numberless volumes have charged the Papists with the most

horrid principles ; but have they, or have they not, proved their point ? If he had read them, he could not say that they had not proved it : he indeed hints for their excuse, that people of every profession have fallen into the same wicked excesses ; but this is not a just representation of the case ; we are not now enquiring what men have profligately done, but what their principles have lead to : and this is a matter with which his Lordship hath hardly at all medled. He saith, p. 15, *In vain will it be to tell us that some Popes and some Casuists have run counter to this doctrine ;* [he means of obedience to heretical governments] *if they have done so, the fact will only prove, that such Popes and such Casuists have followed the Lesbian rule, mistakingly bringing in their holy religion to countenance their worldly policy, instead of reconciling that policy with their religion.—It is a species of civil superstition to view such occasional deviations in any other light, or think otherwise on this head.—It is such a civil superstition as the Protestant States of Germany have long since got rid of, and cannot be continued in Ireland without the manifest disadvantages it must ever bring along with it. And it is again repeated, that the Catholic religion forbids, under the severest penalties, public rebellions or private treacheries : and it is denied that the Powder Plot in England, or the Massacre in Ireland, make any thing against this.*

But I am not satisfied with this palliating, nor can any considerate person be so : the thing here so softly acknowledged, that some Popes, some Casuists, have taught doctrines contrary to this,

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is of vastly greater importance than the thing is here made; and here too is no answer at all given to it, but that the quietness and obedience of the German and Irish Papists, shews that such principles do not belong to their religion. But suppose this quiet hath not proceeded from a conviction of the right of the thing, but from force! if this be the case, their quiet will be no argument for him.

It is of the last importance, that some Popes and Casuists have given ground for these accusations: For if his Holiness shall declare, that we Heretics have no right to any allegiance from Catholics, if he shall excommunicate our King and us, absolve all of his religion from their oaths and obligations to us, and declare them bound in conscience to oppose and destroy us; what will the Catholic do here? It is plain, that if he be one of those who believe the Pope to be infallible, he must, under the penalty of everlasting damnation, rise against and overturn our Government, if he can. And are there none in his Church who believe the Pope to be infallible? He cannot say so; he cannot but know, that most of the Italians, all the Jesuits, and consequently all those who are under their influence, most or all of their religious orders, and a great part of their Clergy, among which those of Ireland and England are to be reckoned, are of this opinion: and if I be not much mistaken, this is the most prevailing among the Doctors of their Church. Here then is there danger, and with a witness to all Protestants; and this by the very foundation of their faith.

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Nor is the danger annihilated by their denying the Pope's infallibility : all Roman Catholics own that the Bishop of Rome is Christ's vicar, and the head of his Church upon earth ; that to be justly separated from him, is to be cut off from salvation ; and that he is therefore to be obeyed, whether he be infallible or not. Suppose then that his Holiness shall excommunicate our King and us, and declare all his subjects discharged of their allegiance ; what shall the Papists do here ! This, will Lord Taaffe say, is an usurpation of the Court of Rome, which no body ought to obey : but we have seen that this cannot be thought so by the greater part of their Church, for they hold him infallible who cannot be deceived, nor decree wrong ; and indeed it can hardly be judged so by any of them.

They cannot pretend to form such a judgment, but by setting up their own opinion in direct opposition to the declaration of their Church guides, and the head of their Church : but it is the very foundation of Popery, to give up their own sense and reason to their teaching Church, and without pretending to examine or judge for themselves, in any the plainest manner ; and the acting contrary to this, is abused by all their teachers and writers as the most pernicious heresy in us, and the sure parent of all that ever have arose in the world. And suppose too, that the Pope shall go to such lengths as to excommunicate and anathematise all those who shall obey or assist our Government, forbid all his clergy to officiate, to say Mass, or to grant absolution, but at the point of death ; what will

will the Roman Catholic do here? Is it indeed to be expected that many of them will run the desperate risque of their salvation, of casting off the authority, despising the censures, and contradicting the orders of the head of their Church, and living without Mass or Sacraments? I think it is not to be expected; and I should fear that even his Lordship's resolution would be shaken by such perilous circumstances: for, although something of this kind hath been done in their own church upon such occasions, yet this was where the parties censured were of their own religion, and could and did deny the charge of Heresy; which never can be the case with us. It is beyond doubt then, that the instance which his Lordship hath hinted at, hath overthrown the whole reasoning of his book.

But this is not the worst of the matter, we have much more just cause for our fears of them: we are not to learn the nature of their religion from any private person, or priest or bishop, or the clergy of a whole nation, but from the authentic declarations of their whole Church: which declaration, whosoever opposes in any one point, he is with them accounted an Heretic. Now if we can be sure of any doctrine being with them an article of faith, it must be when the thing hath been defined by a Council which they reckon general, when this Council hath had the approbation of the Pope, when it hath been received by a general consent among them, and the practice of their church hath been built upon it for a series of years: and yet by all these ways hath the Popes power

power to excommunicate and depose heretical princes, to absolve their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, to oblige them to fight against them, and to give away their dominions to any Catholic who will seize them, been established.

I have now Dupin's Ecclesiastical History open before me, and I find, in the 4th Council of Lateran, acknowledged even by him as well as all the rest of their Church to be a general one, who was not over favourable to the Papal court or power, the 3d Canon to run in these words: *The Council excommunicates and anathematizes all Heretics, and orders that they shall, after their condemnation, be delivered up to the secular power to be punished. That the Lords shall be admonished and obliged by ecclesiastical censures, to extirpate Heretics and excommunicated persons; and if they neglect to do this, they shall, after admonition, be excommunicated themselves; and if they persist a year, the sovereign Pontiff shall be apprised of it, that so he may declare their vassals absolved from their oath of Fealty, and bestow their lands upon such Catholics as will seize them, who shall be lawful possessors, by extirpating Heretics and preserving the purity of the faith; but this without prejudice to the rights of the superior Lord, provided he offer no hindrance to the execution. And the same indulgence is granted to the Catholics who shall, by force of arms, undertake to extirpate Heretics, as to those who go to the Holy Land against the Infidels.*

This is the declaration and definition of the 4th general Council of Lateran, held under Innocent the third, in the year 1215, which I need make

no observations upon it. And this doctrine, so far from being retracted, hath been confirmed either tacitly or expressly by every general Council which was subsequent to it.

In the Council of Lyons, in 1245, a general one with them, this doctrine is declared and put in practice by the Pope's publicly excommunicating in it the emperor Frederick; and this without any the least opposition from the Council, whose infallible direction of the Holy Spirit must, to be sure, have caused them to have contradicted him if the thing were wrong. And herein the Pope declares this Prince deprived of the empire, and all his estates and dignities, all his subjects discharged from their oaths of allegiance, and forbids them, under the pain of excommunication, *ipso facto*, to acknowledge him for their Emperor or King. We find in the general Council of Vienna, held in the year 1311, which was called by the French King, Philip the Fair, on purpose to condemn this doctrine, and Pope Boniface the eighth, who had put it in practice against himself, that neither of these things could be obtained, though the Council was held in his own dominions, under his own eye; and he was the maker and patron of the Pope who called it, and the most powerful monarch of his time. And we find, that there never was a condemnation passed upon this doctrine in any one of their many general Councils that were held afterwards; though it was so notoriously the belief and practice of their Church, that to omit lesser instances, we have four emperors of Germany served in this

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manner, Henry IV. Henry V. Otho, and Frederick; and whole nations thereby desolated, by all the slaughters and ravages of the most cruel wars, and for several centuries together. Notwithstanding all this, we find no condemnation ever to have passed upon this doctrine, no not in Constance or Trent; the former of which was called by Christian Princes; in opposition to the Papal power, and declared itself superior to it; and the latter sat even in the times when the reformation had made great progress, and must therefore have rendered the Papists more wary.

In fine, then, this slavish, destructive, damnable tenet, (abominable things deserve abominable names) hath been so thoroughly established in the Church of Rome, that none of that religion can deny it without running counter to all their own principles. and this is so manifest, that I could produce many testimonies of their own writers for it, but one great one shall serve the purpose. Cardinal Perran, in his speech to the Assembly of the States of France at Paris, in the year 1615, declares, That unless the Pope's power of deposing princes be just, the Church of Rome had been for many ages the Kingdom of Antichrist, and Synagogue of Satan: and this doctrine was there assented to by the Clergy and Nobles, and only denied by the third estate of the people, who were for this severely abused by the Pope: and from what I have already proved, it is manifest that he was in the right.

Possibly it may be said in answer to this, that the Pope hath not excommunicated our King; but

but if we were to depend upon this, miserable would our case be indeed; because, if we were in his power, it would be a most palpable breach of duty in him to neglect to excommunicate us. But though this be not done publicly, (it is not now safe for him to attempt it, an English fleet might make him repent his rashness) yet it is every year as effectually, though privately, done.

I have now lying before me his *Bulla in Cæna Domini*, which he every year pronounces upon Maunday Thursday; and here follows some extracts from it, it is too long to give it all. Article 1st. " We excommunicate and anathematise in the name of God Almighty, Father Son and Holy " Ghost, and by the authority of the blessed " Apostles, Peter and Paul, and by our own authority, all—Heretics, by whatsoever name they " are called; as also all that believe them, their receivers, favourers, and in general all their defenders; and all those who, without authority " from us or the Apostolic See, knowingly read " their books containing heresy or treating of religion: as also all Schismatics, and those who obstinately withdraw themselves from our obedience. Article 12th. All are excommunicated " and anathematized who strike, take, imprison, " or detain any Cardinals, Bishops, Legates or " Nuncios of the Church of Rome; or those who " drive them out of their dominions, or command " or allow such things to be done, or who give " aid, counsel or favour to them who do so. In " the 13th article, the same is done to all who " hinder appeals to Rome, or who, under pretence

“ tence of appeal, refuse to obey the Pope’s decision in any manner. And article 22d, It is ordained that no one may be absolved from these censures, but by the Pope himself, unless at the point of Death.”

All this, and much more, is there declared; and therefore, my unfortunate Catholic reader, thou art, I am afraid, already excommunicated and cursed by the head of thy Church, for looking into my book; but certain it is that Lord Taaffe is so for writing his, and inculcating obedience and assistance to a Protestant Government, which is guilty of every action and opinion condemned in this Bull: so that if the head of his Church be not most horribly mistaken, and his council of Cardinals, and all the grand Casuists attending the court of Rome; and if these do not all most falsely and wickedly condemn such a number of people every year, our poor old Nobleman must be damn’d for his pains, unless he will give us the slip, and recant his performance before he dies, and receive absolution for it.

But it will doubtless be pleaded, that what the Pope doth *clave errante*, that is, by an unjust judgment, will signify nothing, the person will not really be excommunicated by it; and in these instances the Pope hath been, and may be, opposed; as was the case in France in the end of the last century: for when the Pope threatened to excommunicate Lewis XIV. the Parliament of Paris, in 1687, resisted him; and the clergy of France did before declare, that the Pope had no right to do so. But this case doth not at all reach ours: no
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Romanist can entertain a doubt of our being all Heretics and Schismatics, and therefore the Pope's excommunication of us, and the decree of the 4th general Council of Lateran, doth most certainly include our Governors; and we are therefore to be extirpated whenever the Catholics shall have it in their powers. But this was not the case of the French King. His dispute with his Holiness was, whether he had any indirect power in temporals, so as to refuse his Bulls for the consecrating those Bishops who were nominated by this King; and whether the French Embassadors in Rome should still enjoy some privileges, which they had of a long time there possessed: but all heresy is denied of this King, and certainly with the greatest truth. For he was so true a son of their Church, that he revoked the privilege of their religion granted to the Protestants by the edict of Nantz, and persecuted them with such cruelty, as to drive hundreds of thousands out of his dominions. This is a true representation of the case, as I find by the Clergy's declaration in 1682, and in Mr. Talon's speech to the Parliament in 1687, and in Mr. Achilles de Harlay's appeal to a future general Council.

This plea, therefore, without insisting upon the danger of any particular person's taking upon him to judge for himself, and oppose the head of his Church, is of no use at all to us Protestants. And, to add to our danger, I have found that Pius V. who hath been since sainted, and therefore, we must suppose, taught true doctrine, did in the beginning of the last century declare, that
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we had no right to government, laws or obedience from any Catholic; and in the year 1745, before the breaking out of the last Rebellion, the same declaration was made by the then Pope. And I find that the Popes have taken upon them, in so many instances, to dispense with oaths, that it is hardly possible for Satan himself to act a more wicked part than they have done, if this privilege do not really belong to them*. I find, that every one of their Bishops is obliged at his consecration to swear, that he will be obedient to the Holy See, defend the royalties of St. Peter, and do his utmost to extirpate Heresy out of his Diocese ||; (quere,

* I shall mention an example or two of this kind. Francis I. King of France, took his oath to Charles of Spain, that he would either fulfil his treaty or return back prisoner to Spain; but the Pope dispensed with this oath. In the year 1556, a Truce was concluded and sworn to between France and Spain; but the Pope made the French King quickly after break it, and absolved him from his oath. In Geddes's tracts, vol. 1. p. 39 and 43, the Emperor Charles V. was bound by an oath, that he would upon no pretence whatsoever, banish the Moriscoes out of Spain, nor compel them to be baptised against their wills, neither directly or indirectly ever desire to be dispensed with, as to this oath, nor accept such if offered to him; and that if he did, all that was done by him should be null and void; and yet all this was dispensed with by Clement VII. in the year 1524.

|| I A. B. Bishop or Abbot, shall be faithful to St. Peter and the holy Church of Rome, and to the Pope and his successors. The Papacy of Rome, the rules of the holy Fathers, and royalties of St. Peter, I shall help and maintain, and defend against all men. The rights, honours and privileges of the Pope and successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended and augmented. The rules of the holy Fathers, the decrees, ordinances and commands apostolical, I shall keep and cause to be kept by others. Heretics, Schismatics and rebels to our holy Father

(quere, whether the Popish Bishop which was lately sent over to Canada was suffered to take this oath?) and that all the regular Clergy, that is, all their Monks and Friars of every order, take an oath of unlimited obedience to their superiors; and all these superiors are well known to be under the absolute dominion of the Pope.

Upon the whole, then, the principles of the Church of Rome are utterly destructive of all safety to a Protestant Government, and there cannot be a worse grounded, a more false assertion, than that they are or can be at all safe or profitable to us as such; and that it is out of ignorance, or some worse motive, that we ascribe such principles to them. How often hath the Pope, in countries and times wholly Popish, dispensed with oaths and all bonds of allegiance, and thereby dyed a nation in its own blood; and what then have Heretics to expect?

Lord Taaffe, indeed, thinks it an undeniable argument against this, that the German and Irish Papists have for so long a time past proved obedient and quiet under Protestant Governments: but I have abundantly shewn that this cannot proceed from their religion, but from some other cause; and it is easy to see what it is. It hath not been in their power to overturn these states, and they would have but ruined themselves in making the attempt. His Lordship endeavours to set the behaviour of the Irish Catholics, in the reign

and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power. So help me God and his holy Evangelists. Burnet's hist. of the Reformat. Vol. 1. p. 92, 93.

reign of William III. in a most favourable light ; but I cannot give them so much, nor indeed any honour upon this account : they had been just now conquered by the power of the English and Irish Protestants, conquered when they had a King of their own at their head, the government, the laws, the arms, the national purse, and all the fortified towns in this kingdom, except Derry and Enniskillen, in their hands ; together with a very numerous and well disciplined army of their own, and a large body of veteran French troops to assist them ; and yet were conquered with all these advantages. And would it indeed have been prudent, nay would it not have been madness in them to rebel, when all these advantages were turned against them, and were got on the Protestant side ? And when too they had so recently smarted for their former foolish and profligate conduct ? It is not then to be wondered, that they continued quiet at that time, and the same reasons have ever since subsisted to make them still quiet. In these circumstances, the spirit of their religion is restrained by the impracticability of the attempt ; and when it is so, it is not their business, nor their practice either, whose religion is most politic, to insult upon these doctrines, but to cover them up and hide them as carefully as they can, even from their own people. And it is not only in this, but in many other instances, that I have known their people to be ignorant of their religion, and to be kept in it by this very ignorance.

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We must not then expect to see Popery in its proper colours whilst it remains in such an oppressed, disguised condition; but if we have a mind to find out what it really is, we must take a view of it, where it hath the power in its own hands, and can act conformably to its true nature: but as soon as we do this, what a horrid scene is opened to our view, even in our own country, where no inquisition was ever established. Lord Taaffe was wise in restraining our retrospect to the time since the revolution; it is our business, for the finding out the truth, to carry it farther back: and to do this but for two or three years before this time, we find our Irish Papists guilty of such falshood and cruelty, as do thoroughly answer to the detestable character of their religion already given. From the beginning of James the second's reign to his expulsion from this country, it was one continued endeavour to ruin the Protestants, and no matter how base the means were: for, not satisfied with all other arts to destroy them, they not only dissolved the Act of Settlement, whereby they most unjustly dispossessed a vast number of innocent and deserving Protestants of their estates and fortunes, but at the last to complete their ruin, they passed an act of parliament to attain, &c. for life, fortune, and even inheritance, 2600 persons in this little country; all of them without trial, notice, or any cause proved against them: and this act kept secret, till the time of pardon was elapsed, and it was out of the king's power, if inclined to it, to shew mercy to any one of them. And this was done

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by them, when their abdicated King's restoration must be so deeply affected by this cruel behaviour to us; and when this King had, by a previous declaration, made his treatment of his Irish Protestants the criterion by which he wished all others to judge of him and his religion. In this have we an instance of such effrontery, falsehood, and cruelty, as I cannot recollect to be matched in all history.

Most abominably criminal therefore, was the behaviour of our Irish Papists just before that æra to which his Lordship would confine our views; and I must say, that I do not think their character so clear in the late risings of the White-boys. Lord Taaffe refers us to a pamphlet then to be published, for their vindication; and I am very sorry that he hath done so, for this will oblige me to speak things that I wish not to think or believe of any man. I must then tell the reader, that these White-boys are extremely obliged to our former Governors; for, till within these two years, they did every thing in their power not to expose and punish, but to cover up and pass over their treason. I know that Lord Drogheda, who was first sent down to quell them, did believe that a Rebellion was at that time intended by them; and, if I am not wrongly informed, did assert this for fact in the House of Lords the last Session of Parliament: this also was the opinion of General Montague, who succeeded him in this command. And how can any man, indeed, believe otherwise of it, who knows that they had at first a camp upon the Galtee mountains, where no horse could

could come at them; that they were regularly paid, carefully trained by one Bourke, their adjutant General, an experienced foreign officer, and kept to such a severity of discipline, that some of them died of the whippings which they received for breach of duty.

And in the proceedings against them last year, there was such fairness shewed them in all things, and such full and agreeing proof given of their treason by a variety of witnesses, as satisfied every person capable of conviction, that they were really guilty. It is true that an *alibi* was attempted to be proved in some cases, and that they did at their deaths solemnly deny the facts; but however unwilling, I must inform the reader, that in a case of this kind there is no depending upon what they shall say: the assertion is horrid, and I am shocked whilst I am making it; but as the characters of these worthy men are concerned in it who pushed on the prosecution, nay, and the safety of our religion and liberties, which may all be overturned if such attempts as these are suffered to be so easily got over; it would be weak, it would be wrong in me to be ashamed of charging them with what they are not ashamed to assert and teach, and put in practice whenever they have an opportunity. I say then, that there is such Casuistry taught by one of their orders, namely, the Jesuits, that there is no credit to be given to what they shall say in a matter of this kind. And when I confine this censure to the Jesuits, there is no one acquainted with the doctrine and practice of their Church, as to abso-

lutions, but must know that I am favourable to them.

I find in the history of the Gunpowder Plot, hatched in the year 1605, that the same spirit which made them think it meritorious, to destroy at one blow, our King, the Royal Family, our Lords and Commons, and all the others then attending upon them, in which also were some of their own people, made several of them who were concerned in it to deny facts with the most horrid oaths and imprecations; when their facts were afterwards fully proved upon them, and acknowledged by themselves *. When Garnet, the Provincial of the Jesuits, was examined before the Lords, whether he had any conference with Hall, he denied it upon his soul, and with such horrid execrations as wounded the ears and hearts of all that heard him; and upon Hall's confessing it, he excused himself by the benefit of equivocation: and the Roman Jesuit Eudæmon Johannes vindicates him in it, and saith, that it is lawful for a man to swear and take the sacrament upon it, when he knows that what he saith is absolutely false, provided he helps himself by a mental reservation. And Treſham, a little before his death, in the Tower, subscribed with his own hand, that he had not seen Garnet for sixteen years past; when it was afterwards clearly proved that they had been together but the summer before. These matters might be demonstrated by numberless quotations to be found in Protestant writers; but I shall confine myself to one, though

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* See the State Trials.

Monfieur Pascal's might be added, to his testimony, who was himfelf a Catholic.

In the parallel of the doctrine of the Pagans and the Jefuits, chap. 8th, upon the love of our neighbour, I find that we may, according to feveral Jefuits, wifh harm to our neighbour upon feveral accounts; the mother may wifh the death of her daughter, and the fon of the father, and this without fin, provided the thing be done not fo much for hurt to them as good to ourfelves. Nay, this writer fhews farther, that a child may kill his father when unjuftly attacked by him, monks their fuperiors, and vaffals their princes; and this not only to defend their lives or goods, but even their reputations and honours alfo: and thefe Cafuifts give this privilege more efpecially to their clergy, for the preventing their defamation. And thefe things he proves from the books of thefe eminent Jefuits, Bauni, Tambourin, Bonacina, Dicaftellus, Leffius, Malina, Efcobar, Lamy and Lanquet. Now, if all thefe greater evils may be done upon fuch a leffer motive of good as thefe instances contain, how much more may a man tell a little lie, which with many of them is counted but a venial fin, when the fafety, honour and benefit of Holy Mother the Church, and of more than a million of good Catholics, require this from the man.

But in the next chapter of oaths, this author proves ftill more upon them: for he therein fhews, that a promife, a vow, or an oath, may, according to them, be broke through without fin, if the man did not at the time intend to bind himfelf, if he

he now doubts whether he had such an intention, or though in both it was the case, if he hath not the will to perform it. That a man may, by a double entendre in an oath, make others believe a falsehood without perjuring himself, and be only guilty of a venial lie: and that he may declare that he hath not done a thing, which in reality he hath done, meaning some other thing in his own breast; and may confirm this false affirmation with an oath, provided it be accompanied with a clever equivocation. And these things he proves from Belliucius, the Pope's penitentiary, Tambourin, Valencia, Sanches, Stoz, Lessius, and Carnedi, a Lisbon Jesuit, qualificator of the inquisition in Spain and Portugal, whose book was published so late as the year 1719, and with the approbation of the Society. And he shews farther from these authors, how a man may seem to swear when he doth not swear, and remain safe from perjury, when he makes others believe that he hath sworn.

Now it is plain, if any of these men, who suffered or gave a testimony of the persons being in another place at the time, should have a Jesuit director of his conscience, or any of his principles, that then he may safely deny the fact, and falsify the truth, and shall be innocent, nay virtuous, in doing so, when his religion was so deeply interested as was the case here; and that therefore we cannot lay any weight upon their most solemn declarations, in the matter we are now arguing about.

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As to the German Papists, I must say the same for them as for those of this country ; it cannot be their religion, but some other cause, that keeps them quiet and obedient in their Protestant Governments. We of Ireland, however, are not too carelessly to follow their examples ; for there is a peculiarity in our circumstances, which makes it most unsafe for us to argue from their to our own case : our Papists have, by several rebellions, forfeited the greatest part of the Land in this kingdom ; the titles to these lands are still carefully preserved by their descendants ; and a great many of these, by a strange kind of policy, bred up to arms in our neighbouring nations, ever eager and ready to seize any opportunity of recovering them. And we have been forced, besides this, for the preservation of our liberties and religion, to drive from our throne a Popish King and his family, who must, upon this account, be judged almost martyrs for their principles ; and be therefore the more earnestly loved and served by them. These things make the English and Irish Papists more dangerous than any others of their Church, and therefore a greater caution and restraint necessary on our parts.

But it is urged by his Lordship, that we have broken the public faith given to the Papists by the capitulation of Limerick : this is indeed a material point, but one that I am not able to speak to. The knowledge of an able Lawyer would here be necessary ; but this I am totally destitute of. I will, however, deliver my opinion, and if not with the ability of a knowing, yet at least with
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the integrity of an honest man. And here I do declare, that no fears however just, no danger of Popery however great, nothing but an actual rebellion raised on their side, can vindicate us in breaking through any part of it : and although the first article of it, which allows a liberty of religion to them, seems to hint that the King's power might not be sufficient for such a grant ; yet will I derive nothing from such a plea, because I am not sure that it is just.

The words of the first civil article are, “ It is
 “ agreed that the Roman Catholics of this king-
 “ dom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise
 “ of their religion, as are consistent with the laws
 “ of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of
 “ Charles the second ; and when a parliament
 “ shall be summoned, their Majesties will endea-
 “ vour to procure them such farther security in
 “ this particular, as may preserve them from any
 “ disturbance on account of their religion.” Now,
 whether they are hereby entitled to have their hierarchy, and their monks and monasteries among us, is more than I can tell ; I suppose they are not, because these were, I believe, before prohibited ; and because they could, by having their priests educated abroad, and without seminaries or monasteries here, have all their religious offices sufficiently performed. And in this I suppose that I have his Lordship's concurrence, because he so highly commends the integrity and moderation of William the third's reign, who yet passed several laws by which their Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars general, and Monks of all kinds, were prohibited
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from coming into this kingdom; and ordered, when found in it, to be transported out of it, and condemned to death if they should again return to it.

But in the statute of the 2d of Anne, whereby not only the regulars, but the secular Popish clergy were prohibited; this I look upon as a shameful breach of public faith, and cannot sufficiently wonder how Protestants would be guilty of it. The Romanists, however, have but little reason to complain of this law, because it was never put in execution; they have had the full exercise of their religion ever since. It is however, a disgrace to us, that any such law was ever made, and we ought immediately to repeal it.

And this, we are not only bound in justice, but in policy, to do. We give at present the most pernicious indulgence to the Irish Roman Catholics; we permit them to have, not only their Bishops and parish Priests, but their Friars also: and among these, that most abominable of all their orders, the Jesuits; an order whose principle it is, that the Pope is infallible in all things, and therefore to be obeyed in all things; whose spirit is most bitterly set against us, and more active, knowing, and turbulent, than that of all the others; and whose doctrines and practices are so exceedingly bad, that they have been thought insufferable by a great many of their own religion; and they have therefore been lately drove out of France, Spain and Portugal. We indulge our Papists in all this, and without any security at all

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taken from them. It would be wise, therefore, in us, to give them some sort of a legal establishment, to tie them down to such restraints as should be judged necessary for our safety, and to take such security from them as the evasiveness of their religion would require and permit; and which, if his Lordship and all their late writers be not extremely mistaken, they are most desirous, and will be most ready to give us: or if this be refused by them, we may then take, and shall be vindicated to the world in taking, any proper measures with them to secure our own peace.

As to the civil rights of the Irish Roman Catholics, I am to observe, that none but those included in the articles of Limerick, a very small parcel in respect to the rest of of this kingdom, have a right to any terms; but are left entirely to the mercy of our Legislators, as to all their estates and liberties: these, therefore, have no cause to complain of any breach of covenant, for no covenant was made with them. But as to the few others, I protest I know not what to think of their case; I fear they have been ill used by us. The 2d article is, *That they shall hold and enjoy all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance, and all their rights, titles, interests, privileges and immunities which they held or enjoyed, or were entitled to, in the reign of King Charles II.* I fear that these few among them who were entitled to the benefit of these articles, have been wrongfully treated by us: and if it be so, I must again repeat my opi-

nion,

nion, that these laws, with regard to them, should be immediately abrogated; and we ought, in all justice, to restore them to that liberty which this treaty gives them. But I have not such a knowledge of the law, as to enable me to speak with confidence of this matter. I find in the 7th of William III. several restraints laid upon the Papists of Ireland, with heavy penalties annexed: a prohibition of foreign education, and the person who sent the child abroad, and the child himself, subjected to several disabilities and losses; a prohibition also of Protestants marrying with Papists, and an act for taking away their horses for five pounds; but those entitled to the Limerick articles excepted from such seizure. These things were all done in the reign of William III. so highly commended by Lord Taaffe; and all these are, by Mr. Harris, in his folio life of this prince, declared to be no breaches of this treaty: so that I cannot take upon me to pronounce any thing with certainty of this matter.

But now, having said so much of the badness of the Popish religion, let me say something in commendation of our countrymen who profess it; and this I can do with the greatest truth. The Irish are naturally generous, brave, humane, compassionate; and these good qualities are not lessened by their mixture with English blood. And although it be impossible to be of this religion without being zealously, and sometimes bitterly affected to it, seeing they believe themselves to be the only true and saveable Christians, and take not up

their belief from reason, but from deep prejudice; and must therefore ever prove dangerous to a Protestant Government: yet, as the bad principles of their religion are now much concealed from them, and as their antipathy to us hath of late visibly lessened, I think it probable, that they now may be treated with greater liberties, both in their religion and properties, than heretofore it hath been safe to give them; and that therefore it would be right in us to do so. As to the former of these, I fear that they will not wish for any alteration in it; they would chuse to have their religion go on as it is with them at present: but this ought to be an invariable rule with us, that we will have a security given to us answerable to the advantages granted to them; and that, as these people are the most under the influence of their clergy of any profession upon earth, we do require from them such oaths and declarations, and put them upon such a footing, as shall make it most safe to our religion and government. What these concessions should be on our part, what the securities taken on theirs, I pretend not to say; I leave it to wiser and more experienced heads than mine to determine.

I protest, that what I have wrote hath proceeded from candour and conviction, and not from prejudice or passion; for although I love my own religion in the highest degree, yet have I no bitterness at all against theirs, and much less the professors of it. And I can assure the reader, that I have upon this account, suppressed many things that
would

would otherwise have flowed from my pen ; and every learned man that reads this paper, will be sensible that I have done so, that I could have produced much more against them, than what is to be found in this pamphlet. And to convince our Papists as much as is possible, that this is real truth, I will close all with this remark :

That I think it certain we might, with safety to ourselves, grant them greater liberty ; and when we may, it then becomes our duty to give it : because, all unnecessary restraints upon account of religion, are real persecutions ; and all persecution is that which every Protestant, every Christian, ought to abhor.

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